

are binding and effective, and they are not considered treaties only because provinces and states are a priori considered to be non-sovereign bodies in international law, a tautological loop that spares us the qualms of recognition.

- there is a growing recognition of the desirability of larger economic groupings (EEC, NAFTA, ASEAN), which necessarily must have some of the trappings of political power, if only to level the playing fields; this is being accompanied by the rise of localism or regionalism, stressing the political alienation that arises with distant power and the preoccupations of locally-focussed polities.

As the international community has tried to accommodate new realities into old definitions, the concept of recognition has been bent out of shape. In response to the Yugoslav crisis, there is talk of "de-recognition", in effect, declaring Yugoslavia dead, replacing it with something else. In the Haitian crisis, because we recognized the state but had no lever to focus our disapprobation of the new government, we developed the concept of "recognition but disapproval". This response would have barred the alleged government of Haiti from a meeting of Francophonie, irrespective of policies towards recognizing states or governments. In Ukraine, we are near an economic arrangement and a treaty in everything but name, in spite of exercising caution about the formalities of recognition.

The issue is not sovereignty. Canada and the United Kingdom are different countries in spite of having a common "sovereign". The UK and the EC share powers despite the absence of any traditionally sovereign power vested in the European Community. Ukraine is not going away, whether we recognize it or not, and in spite of what we say when recognition is conferred ("de facto" or "de jure").

We need new language and new concepts. We need additional elements for a more comprehensive, "functional" framework for inter-entity relationships. There are precedents and examples, which include the role of Canadian provinces abroad and the roles of multilateral organizations. We might begin by acknowledging that in a post nation-state world, "recognition" as a formal concept has reached the end of its life-cycle. We should be searching for a complex of mechanisms which, for example, would recognize the authorities of Kiev in matters over which they exercise jurisdiction, the Ukrainian authorities over matters of republican responsibility, and the central Soviet authorities in matters retained by (or delegated to) the Centre.

What are the implications? International negotiations, agreements and treaties would be conducted between entities on the basis of the powers that they enjoyed, without any derogation from the authority or status of the instruments agreed to. Central governments of one state could enter agreement with provinces or state